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A Program for American Youth

Manifesto and Resolutions of Seventh National
Convention, Young Communist League of U.S.A.
(June 22-27, 1934)



Price 5c

1934

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Published August, 1934, by

YOUTH PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 28 (Sta. D)

New York City

A CALL TO YOUTH

*To the Young Workers, Young Farmers and
Students of America—Negro and White*

WE GREET YOU in the name of the Seventh National Convention of the *Young Communist League* of the U. S. A., held in New York City, June 22-27, 1934. We wish to speak to you in the name of the delegates who came to this convention representing tens of thousands of youth organized in and around the Y.C.L.

The youth of America, hard-hit by five years of crisis, are growing to manhood and womanhood without prospect of job or future. Seven million youth are jobless. Two million yearly stream out of the schools — unwanted by industry, farm or profession. Denied jobs and relief, hundreds of thousands have been cast out on the open road to wander aimlessly—victims of hunger, accident, misery and vice.

Those who have jobs are speeded up beyond endurance. The New Deal government discriminates against the youth in its N.R.A. codes. Youth are set against adults in a hopeless scramble for jobs. Thousands of children are "bootlegged" into sweatshops where they slave for profit-greedy bosses.

Lynch law—carried through with rope, fire and bullet—is used to terrorize the Negro youth who dare to challenge Jim Crowism and segregation.

The farming youth and their families are driven from their land. The work of their own and past generations is stolen from them. Whole families are being uprooted from the soil. Students graduate into the hell of unemployment. Retrenchment programs threaten a whole new generation with the prospect of semi-illiteracy. Crowded class rooms, empty stomachs and unpaid teachers have become part of America's boasted system of free education.

The entire country is covered with military forced labor camps. C.C.C. camps claim the jobless youth from the cities; transient camps seize homeless youth on the highways; women's camps reach out for the unemployed girls.

War preparations and military training of the youth proceed at a furious speed. The profit-mad capitalists are ready to hurl millions of youth into bloody war.

Which Is the Way Out?

Refusing to take these conditions lying down, the youth are rising side by side with their adult fellow-workers to battle for jobs, higher wages, unemployment insurance, for the right to organize and strike. Life itself teaches the youth that there

is something very wrong with a system which cannot give jobs and decent living conditions to millions. Yes, we too say there is something very wrong with a system which starves millions amidst plenty—when there is no need to starve. The youth are faced with the question: WHICH IS THE WAY OUT?

The *Young Communist League* says that this capitalist system has failed to give the youth, as well as adults, jobs, security and hope for the future. In the few years within the youth's memory, they have seen how the Republican Party of Hoover and the Democratic Party of Roosevelt have both failed to benefit the working class and its youth. Both parties stand for Wall Street—they make promises only to break them after getting elected. It is the capitalist class, with its political parties, which is responsible for this crisis. It is thus impossible for capitalism and its parties to lead the youth out of this crisis.

The Socialist Party, which is the third party of capitalism, works among the youth through its Young Peoples Socialist League. The S.P. and Y.P.S.L. are following the same treacherous policies that the Socialist Parties lead in Europe. Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, talks "radical" in speeches—but really supports capitalism in deeds. Thomas supported the N.R.A. both in words and deeds—but now, when the workers begin to see through the N.R.A., he starts to talk against it—although in practice still supporting it. N.R.A. was praised as a step toward socialism by Thomas—Roosevelt was even invited to join the Socialist Party by Mr. Cahan, another leader of the S.P. In Milwaukee, the Socialist administration used its police to club and arrest striking workers.

Many young workers joined the American Federation of Labor because they thought it would fight to better their conditions. Instead daily they see the racketeer-labor leaders in the American Federation of Labor sell out the workers' strikes. Recently in the San Francisco general strike—the workers were sold out by Vandeleur, Casey and other A. F. of L. leaders. Green, A. F. of L. president, attacked the general strike. He helped to break the steel and auto strikes—and helped the N.R.A. tighten the noose of its codes around the workers' necks. The A. F. of L. proposes to fire masses of youth from their jobs by the "seniority" scheme. The A. F. of L. supported the N.R.A. codes many of which openly said that young workers should not even get the low "minimum wages."

Roosevelt on Way to Fascism and War

The capitalist system in the U.S. is cracking. The capitalists are trying to save the life of their dying system by desperately grabbing at their last straw—Fascism. Fascism is the most openly terroristic capitalist dictatorship. Fascism means that the capitalists cannot any longer rule with their laws, congresses, courts, and constitution—because the workers have

seen through their "democracy." So the capitalists come out from under their "democratic" disguise and begin to use open force and violence as a means of holding back the masses who are becoming more conscious of their organized power.

The workers are losing confidence in the N.R.A. and Roosevelt. They are taking things into their own hands. They are striking throughout the United States—demanding their right to live as human beings. The Roosevelt government replies with growing fascist attacks, bullets, machine guns, and murders of peacefully picketing strikers. Hundreds of workers were shot in San Francisco general strike, in Toledo, Milwaukee, Alabama, Minneapolis and elsewhere; hundreds arrested; dozens killed. All this is done by a "democratically elected" capitalist government.

Is there any real difference between these murderous attacks of "the democratically elected" Roosevelt government and the dictatorial fascist Hitler government? Is it not clear to us young people of America that all the worst features of the fascist way of ruling the masses is unfolding itself within the Roosevelt government itself?

Fascism No Way Out for Youth

But fascism is not the way out for the youth nor the working class as a whole. Fascism cannot give the youth jobs, peace and freedom. Fascism in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Poland shows what the youth in America can expect if they do not organize to beat back advancing fascism. Wherever fascism forces itself into power—we see increasing misery for the workers, more unemployment, less relief, more militarism. It is the youth that always suffers the most from war and fascism. Fascism makes attractive sugar-coated promises to bait the youth—then when Fascism is in power, it cannot even give them jobs. Youth of America—do not let the false promises of Fascism trap you as it did the youth in Germany! Join with the revolutionary movement against Fascism and War!

Roosevelt has also promised the youth many things. But he did not carry out his promises. Where are the promised jobs, the unemployment insurance, higher wages and end of child labor which Roosevelt promised? Instead employed workers have wage-cuts and inflationary price-increases. The jobless have forced labor and transient homeless camps. The bankers and the "money-changers"—which he promised to "drive out of the temple"—are still running the government. Roosevelt, in fact, is the Wall St. bankers' servant. To the tens of thousands of strikers, he gives "arbitration" while at the same time mowing them down with bullets.

To find a way out of the bosses' difficulties—Roosevelt is fast pushing towards War and Fascism. The last session of Congress under Roosevelt's instructions gave over 1½ billion dollars for war preparations, but not one cent for unemployment in-

insurance! All capitalist countries are arming to the teeth. They are getting ready for another world war which is near. The bosses don't want to feed the youth now. But the bosses will use these same youth as cannon fodder in the next war.

Defend the Soviet Union

Youth of America! Serve notice on the bosses' government that you are through serving as cannon fodder! Organize into the *Young Communist League* and fight against bosses' war! We must organize now to turn the bosses' war for profits and markets into the only just and necessary war of the oppressed classes against their parasite-oppressors! We must turn our guns on our real enemies—not the workers of other countries—but “our own” bosses in this country! Fight for a Soviet U.S.A.! the Soviet Union—170,000,000 strong—have already succeeded. In 1917 under the leadership of the *Communist Party*, they turned the bosses' war into a revolutionary war against the war-plotters! Now they live under their own government—a workers' Soviet government. The Soviet workers own all the factories, mines, railways, farms, machinery and everything necessary for life. There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. There is no starvation. The workers and farmers run the factories and farms for their own benefit, not for bosses' profits. They have built new schools and universities. They have given special privileges to the youth. They are training the youth for responsible positions in government, industry, profession, art and science. New homes are built in place of the old czarist slums. Wages are rising steadily. A complete system of social insurance is established. Workers, women and youth are equally protected against dangerous occupations, long hours, and accidents. The creative power of the youth is now engaged in the Soviet Union in the building of a Socialist society. Everything for which the American youth are fighting today was won by the Soviet youth through the establishment of Soviet Power. Soviet Power is what we too must fight for here in America.

The capitalists of the world fear that “their” workers will learn from the successes and lessons of the Soviet Union. That is why they hate the workers' government in the Soviet Union! They plot to destroy it. Hitler speaks of war against the Soviets. The American youth must see that the Soviet Union stands for the cause of the workers of the world. The youth must not permit the bosses to destroy the Soviet Union. In case of an attack on the Soviet Union—we must pledge to rise in defense of our only fatherland.

Soviet Power Is for the Youth

To establish a workers' Soviet Power means to kick out the bosses from power. This needs the organized strength of all

workers. All oppressed peoples, regardless of color, sex, religion or nationality, must unite together in this struggle against capitalism.

What would a Soviet Government in America do for the youth? A Soviet government would at once do away with the slavery of the youth. It would give every young worker a job at wages which only the highly skilled workers receive today; abolish all speed up; cut down the hours of labor to five days a week and six hours a day and even less for all youth over eighteen and to four hours a day for all youth between sixteen and eighteen without any reduction in pay; transfer all youth now working in dangerous or unhealthy occupations or on night shifts to other jobs; give four weeks vacation with pay to every young worker.

It would abolish all child labor under the age of fourteen with government maintenance for those displaced from industry or agriculture and for all others who in the absence of such maintenance would be compelled to work for a living. It would establish vocational training for youth over fourteen.

It would establish a system of social insurance which would adequately provide for all young workers who through accident or sickness could not work.

It would open wide the doors of all schools and universities for all children of the working class; build new schools and universities; allow all youth full freedom of choice of vocation or profession with adequate financial support while studying; assure the utilization of the creative talent of the youth in all fields; place all libraries, museums, recreational centers, summer resorts and other cultural, social and recreational centers at the disposal of the youth.

It would liberate the youth and open for them a new era leading to undreamt of happiness.

Young workers, young farmers, students, Negro and white! Only Soviet Power can give you jobs, freedom, security! Only Soviet power can liberate you from the shackles of capitalist slavery!

Join the only political youth organization that leads you in the struggle for a Soviet America! Join the Young Communist League!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U.S.A.

Winning the Majority of the Working Youth Against War and Fascism and for Soviet Power

I. Young Generation Has No Future Under Capitalism— All Under Socialism

THE three years that have passed since the last convention of our League have been years marked by a continuous deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system on the one hand, and on the other hand, by tremendous growth and achievements in the socialist system—the Soviet Union.

The capitalist class in its attempt to get out of the crisis has increased all the forces of terror and oppression in order to further worsen the conditions of the toiling masses and to prepare for a new armed redivision of the world. It has in all countries intensified the struggle for the masses of youth, working to poison their minds with national and racial hatred, trying to prepare them for fascism and war.

Through shameful promises fascism came to power in Germany and Austria and brought the young generation more hunger, forced labor camps, terror and actual war.

In the United States, when Roosevelt came into office more than a year ago, masses of youth expectantly waited, hoping that the New Deal would end the crisis, would give them jobs and higher standards of living, and would in all other ways drive the "money changers out of the temple" in the interests of the "forgotten man."

But this has not come to pass. The Roosevelt government under the cloak of nice promises, has really placed a greater burden of the crisis on the backs of the working people.

Meaning of "New Deal"

What does the New Deal mean for the sons and daughters, the young men and women of the working class?

To the more than six million jobless youth, many of whom have never worked, the New Deal has not given jobs or relief. It has given to 300,000 of them forced labor camps under army control. To the others, discrimination in public work jobs and relief. The closing of schools has only thrown more youth into the ranks of the unemployed.

To the employed youth the New Deal means exemption from the minimum wage agreements through "learner" and "helper" clauses, and in actuality lower wages due to higher prices. It means increased speed-up, which has already resulted in a growing toll of industrial accidents and diseases among youth, especially girls.

To the Negro youth the New Deal means the worsening of conditions already nigh unbearable. While approximately 85% of Negro youth in U. S. cities are unemployed, they are discriminated against in receiving relief or jobs. Those working face wage differentials in the South. In the schools it means increased discrimination and segregation, and in sections of the South no schools whatsoever. In the Black Belt it means conditions of actual slavery for the young sharecroppers who face increasing lynch terror.

The New Deal has placed before the farm youth the alternatives of increasing pauperization at home or unemployment and starvation away from home in the industrial centers. The rise of industrial prices has only widened the difference between the low price the farmer receives for his products and what he must pay for high monopoly priced factory goods. This together with the forced cutting of sowed acreage, means increasing burden of debts, foreclosures, evictions and tenant farming.

To the student youth the New Deal means more "economy budgets", more closing of schools, less academic freedom, and the bright prospect of enforced idleness after graduation.

To all the youth the New Deal means growing militarization and feverish preparations for a new imperialist war. More than a billion dollars have been appropriated this session of Congress to create "a navy second to none". At the same time millions of dollars have been given for airplanes, for mechanizing and motorizing the army, for the C.C.C. Camps, for the National Guard, C.M.T.C., etc.

"Thus", in the words of the 8th Convention of the Communist Party, "a whole generation of American youth are growing to maturity with no prospects of jobs or future under capitalism. Driven from pillar to post, refused relief, a million youth have been forced to leave home to become migrant waifs, taking food or shelter as best they can get it. Those working are constantly haunted with the possibility of unemployment, are speeded-up, are placed at the most monotonous jobs, with no prospect of even improving their status. Even those youth of middle-class parentage who are going to college and university, and are studying to become professionals, find themselves cast more and more into the ranks of the unemployed youth. The present young generation is in the main a product of crisis conditions, is truly a generation which brutally feels the degeneration and decay of capitalist society."

Soviet Union Main Stronghold of World Working Class

While the capitalist world has been sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of crisis, the Soviet Union has strengthened itself industrially, has already laid the foundations for a classless society, and has constantly improved the material well-being and

cultural level of its people. The rivalry between young, robust Socialism and old, decaying capitalism, is the main contradiction in the world today.

The Soviet Union has become the stronghold of the world working class. It is a source of inspiration to the millions of exploited youth the world over who recognize the Soviet Union as the living example of the working class way out of the crisis and the proven superiority of the socialist economic and social system over the capitalist system.

II. Crisis of Capitalist System Deepens

The revolutionary wave is rising in the capitalist world. More and more masses see the need for decisively smashing the capitalist system as the only way of ending hunger, fascism and war. Although unevenly, the elements of revolutionary crisis are growing the world over. This was proven by the events in China, where the Soviet Republic has won tremendous victories; the barricades in Austria and France; by the revolutionary developments in Spain and Cuba; and in the United States by the growing wave of strike struggles. The masses are beginning to take the revolutionary counter-offensive against the attacks of capitalism, against the growth of fascism and the danger of a new imperialist war.

The increase of production in the past year, while indicating that the economic crisis has under all probability passed its lowest point, does not signify a return to "prosperity" or better days for the young generation.

This pick-up far from showing a way out of the general crisis of the capitalist system, only helps to deepen this crisis. This very "pick-up" was brought about at the expense of the toiling masses. This was done by lowering real wages; by increasing speed-up; by turning millions of farmers into paupers; by the government granting of huge loans and subsidies to the banks and trusts; by inflation and speculation; by pouring of billions of dollars into armaments and the creation of a pre-war boom (production for new wars). By lowering the standards of the masses it widens the already great gap between the huge productive forces and the ever narrowing buying power of the masses.

Imperialist Contradictions Sharpen

American imperialism under the New Deal has increased its aggressive struggle for world markets. This has especially expressed itself in a sharpening of the contradictions between Great Britain and the United States (currency war, South America), and between the United States and Japan in the Far East.

U. S. recognition of the U.S.S.R. was not due to the peace loving nature of American imperialism, but to the growth of

the Soviet Union into a foremost world power, to the successful building of Socialism, to the revolutionary peace policy of the Soviet Union, and to the desires of the American capitalists for Soviet trade.

While posing as pacifist, the American government continues to supply ammunition, money and military and financial advisers to Chiang-Kai-Shek, the hangman of the Chinese people. It has increased its supplies of ammunition to both Japan and Germany who today are the spearheads of world imperialism for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

It must be understood by every Y.C.L.er and young worker, that as the crisis of capitalism deepens, so much more danger is there of a united capitalist attack upon the only fatherland of the working class youth—the Soviet Union.

As more and more of the masses see through the phrases and promises of the New Deal, the capitalist class increases its use of fascist terror against the working masses and accelerates the development of fascism. This is being done first of all through the New Deal government. Strikes are being outlawed and workers forced to accept government arbitration (Lahor Board); company unions are being forced upon the workers and the right to organize taken from them; workers are shot down on picket lines (Alabama, Ambridge, Utah); vigilanti committees are formed to terrorize struggling workers and farmers (California); and lynch terror increases against the Negro people.

Youth Enter Path of Revolutionary Struggle

The growing radicalization of the working and student youth of the United States has been expressed in hundreds of struggles in the past year. Approximately 35% of the one million strikers in the year 1933 were young workers. The youth were in the forefront of the demonstrations and actions of the unemployed masses and made up a large percentage of the marchers in the national and state hunger marchers. Hundreds of strikes and revolts have taken place in the newly formed C.C.C. camps. Thousands of farm youth fought evictions and foreclosures. Broader masses of Negro youth united with their white brothers, were drawn into the struggle, and the beginnings of a large mass movement was created among the young sharecroppers in the South. For the first time since the war, large masses of student youth have entered the path of revolutionary struggle, realizing that only through the victory of the working class can they find prospects of a useful future and happiness. Thousands of working, student, and farm youth, have been brought together in a united front anti-war movement. Hundreds of militant anti-war youth actions have been organized. These, together with the tens of thousands of youth demonstrators on May 1st show the

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readiness of the youth to struggle against war and fascism.

It is this growth of militant struggle on the part of the working class and its youth, that forced certain concessions from the ruling class. It was the gigantic strike wave and the fear of even a greater one which forced the employers to give wage increases to numbers of workers. Although these increases have to a great extent been nullified by shorter hours, speed-up and higher prices, they show nevertheless the power of the working people once they organize and fight.

All of the above sharpens the contradictions of the capitalist system and intensifies the struggle between classes and states to the breaking points—bearing out the correctness of the estimation of the Communist International that the world is on the brink of “a new round of revolutions and wars”.

III. Ruling Class With Aid of Labor Misleaders Strives to Win Youth for War and Fascism

The ruling class has increased its activities among the young generation, hoping to turn their discontent into reactionary channels; striving to make them believe that other nations and people and not the capitalist class, are responsible for their present conditions. New organizations such as the Silver Shirts, Friends of New Germany, New Youth Movement, American Legion Juniors, New Deal clubs etc., have been organized and concentrate their work among youth. The Citizens Conservation Corps have been built by the government with the aim of creating a military and fascist reserve and a source of cheap labor.

At the same time the older more stable capitalist controlled organizations have increased their activities—especially the Settlement Houses and Industrial Y's. These are particularly dangerous as they pose as “liberal” organizations, spread pacifism, carry on social welfare work, and in other ways attempt to hide their capitalist control. These organizations are being centralized directly and indirectly under government supervision and can be transferred into fascist organizations if we do not conduct work to win these youth for the revolutionary class struggle.

The Socialist Party, the Young Peoples Socialist League, and American Federation of Labor, through the use of radical phrases, through creating illusions as to capitalist democracy, through their theory of gradualism, help pave the way for fascism. These reformists at various moments increase their use of radical phrases, but only to cover up the brazen fact that they have become merged with the N.R.A. and government apparatus and are doing all in their power to keep back the struggle of the masses.

In order to check the growing militancy of the Negro youth, and the even firmer unity of the white and Negro masses,

the Negro reformists and nationalists are working to turn the revolutionary hatred of the Negro youth against the white ruling class, into reactionary hatred against the white toilers. Especially dangerous is the “Japanese movement” which has as its aim to win the Negro youth for support of Japanese imperialist policy in the Far East and away from support of the Soviet Union.

IV. Situation and Urgent Tasks of the Young Communist League

Since the 6th Convention the League has grown (3,000 to 6,000) and become strengthened both organizationally and politically. It has increased its shop nuclei (8 to 56). It has improved its social and national composition.

The Y.C.L. participated in a number of important strike struggles and in a few of these played leading and important parts (Trenton, Utah and New Mexico mining, Ambridge, Pittsburgh Hotel, Baltimore ships, New York radio, Philadelphia knitgoods, etc.).

Under the leadership of the Y.C.L. struggles for unemployed youth relief were developed and in a number of cities the system of youth discrimination was broken (Baltimore, Minneapolis). It alone raised demands for the youth in the C.C.C. and gave leadership to the strikes and revolts in these camps.

The Y.C.L. conducted a struggle for the rights of Negro people, and organized actions of white and Negro youth against discrimination and for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys.

Through the application of the united front the Y.C.L. in the last year helped to develop an anti-war youth movement, organized a whole series of anti-war conferences and actions and in the past three years succeeded in transforming Memorial Day into a traditional day of struggle against war and fascism.

It has won considerable members from the ranks of the Y.P.S.L. It has helped to build a broad students' movement, developed the beginnings of a mass farm youth movement, built a number of cultural youth auxiliaries, and more than tripled the size of the revolutionary children's movement (4,000 to 12,000).

In spite of these improvements our League continues to lag behind not alone the radicalization of the young workers, but also the progress of our Party.

The main reason for this continued lagging of our League is to be found in its sectarianism which despite all progress has not yet been broken. This sectarianism is a result of the existence in our ranks of open opportunism (right), and opportunism covered with “radical” phrases (“left”). Both of this opportunism flows from the lack of faith in the young

workers and their readiness to struggle. The open opportunism is expressed in a failure to react to the grievances of the young workers; neglect of economic struggle; a hiding of the face of the League; a desire to change the character of the League from a disciplined Communist youth organization into a formless culture organization. Errors in this direction were made by the National Committee in 1932 and the first part of 1933 and corrected with the aid of the Young Communist International.

Especially stubborn to root out has been the opportunism which is covered with radical phrases. There are "young Communists" who hide their fear of the young workers by loudly shouting about radicalization and revolution. But these phrases are merely used to cover up a resistance to doing the hard day to day work without which successful revolution is impossible. These comrades would sooner stay in their narrow sects than go among the youth still under the influence of the enemy. They talk revolution but resist entering and working within the trade unions under reactionary leadership. They resist going into the C.C.C. camps. They think that because they live in a revolutionary period that it is unimportant and unnecessary for them to work within the Y's and Settlement Houses, to organize sport and cultural activity, etc.

It must be clear to every Y. C. L'er, to every young worker who wants to become a tried and true Communist—a young Bolshevik, that without working in the trade unions and capitalist controlled organizations, without leading the every day struggle for the economic needs of the young workers, without learning to utilize a variety of forms and methods (cultural, social, sports) for organizing the youth, all talk of transforming our League into a broad mass organization, the leader of the majority of the working class youth, remains only talk. And loud talk without action is one of our greatest enemies, because it covers up the opportunists, those who deviate from Communist principles—those who in practice hold our organization back.

The ones responsible for this situation are not the new young workers who enter the League with enthusiasm and make up the bulk of our membership, but a part of the leading cadres who have not turned the entire League out among the youth, and has not activated every single Y.C.L'er on the basis of participation in the daily class struggle.

"The Y.C.L. must mobilize all its forces, energy and initiative for the struggle against the chauvinist and nationalist propaganda of the capitalist class. This requires from the Y.C.L. that it should increasingly propagate Leninist revolutionary teachings among the broadest strata of the youth as well as intensify the struggle for the smallest economic demands of the youth and against their compulsory fascization and militariza-

tion." (Resolution of January 1934 Plenum of Young Communist International.)

This means that every Y.C.L'er must work among the young workers first of all in the shops. This means that Y.C.L'ers must not shirk work in the unions under reactionary leadership (A. F. of L.), in the forced labor camps and in the mass youth organizations controlled by the capitalist class. This means that the whole League and first of all every unit must conduct a policy of concentration for winning the young workers in the decisive war industries (steel, marine, coal and auto) as our major task.

V. The Struggle for the Needs of the Youth

(a) *Struggle Against Roosevelt Program of War and Fascism*

The League must intensify the struggle for the daily needs of the youth, especially at the concentration factories, and through it unmask the Roosevelt government which behind democratic phrases is actually leading toward fascism. The experiences of the youth with the N.R.A. and the strike breaking Labor Board, must be used to arouse them to defend every one of their rights—to strike, organize, picket, demonstrate, etc. We must struggle against the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. which actively supports Roosevelt, and also against the Socialist leaders who confuse the masses as to the real aims of the Roosevelt program and thus help pave the way for fascism. We must answer every chauvinist act directed against the Negro people, every attempt to terrorize the militant workers and farmers, Negro and white. Mass defense groups must be built and where necessary special youth defense organizations should be created (California).

The whole League must be aroused against the imminent danger of a new imperialist war, especially the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union. We must constantly expose the pacifist phrases of Roosevelt by showing the actual preparations of war. We must struggle against every act of American imperialism directed against the colonial peoples (Cuba, Philippines). We must popularize the peace policy of the Soviet Union among the masses of youth and show them its revolutionary character. The broadest masses of youth must be won for the defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviet Republic.

(b) *Make the Shop a Revolutionary Fortress*

In spite of certain improvements in the past year in applying the policy of concentration, the whole League does not yet understand that all of its work, that every struggle, must be centered at the most important factories of basic industry. Where this was done, results are to be recorded (Baltimore, packing industry). Where concentration was looked upon nar-

rowly as only a question of assigning a few forces or visiting contacts; where we failed to work consistently and were carried away by daily events; where we did not apply the most flexible organizational forms (trade unions, sport and social clubs, etc.); where we hid the program of the League and failed to link up the economic struggle with an exposure of the whole capitalist state; where we did not build the united front on specific grievances; we were not successful in making headway despite our participation in numerous strike struggles (Detroit, Pittsburgh, textile). The result of this was that we have only 56 shop nuclei although the Party has 340.

The first responsibility of every leading comrade from unit bureau to National Committee is by practical example to work to root the League in the basic factories. Every young Communist who works in a factory mine, ship or mill must understand that his first duty to the working class is to react to the daily grievances of his shopmates and to become a leader in the struggle for their better conditions. Every unit of the Y.C.L. must take up the problems and give guidance to the individual shop workers and choose one of the most important factories in its territory, for concentration. The aim of every street or neighborhood unit must be to within the shortest possible time, penetrate the most important factories in its territory and bring about the reorganization of the League on a shop unit basis.

The existing shop units must be strengthened and must become the leaders of the young workers of their shops, reacting to their daily problems and applying the tactic of the united front for creating joint united actions of the youth. At the same time they must boldly come forward in their own name and program, and immediately begin to issue Y.C.L. shop papers. The first concentration task of the whole League is to build a Y.C.L. shop unit in every factory where a Party unit exists. This means that every unit, section and district must assign forces and constantly check up together with the Party on the carrying through of this task.

(c) Work in the Trade Unions

In the past months there has been some improvement of the work in the A. F. of L. (steel, etc.). The work of the League in the revolutionary unions has, however, not improved and remains in the same unsatisfactory position.

The reasons for this are: (1) As yet only a small percentage of the young workers in the Y.C.L. are members of and active in trade unions. (2) The resistance to take up youth problems and youth forms by the leadership of the revolutionary unions, which are remnants of reformist ideology (needle, steel, etc.). (3) The lack of understanding in the ranks of the Y.C.L. of the need for economic youth demands and that these form the basis for youth sections and youth committees.

Since the N.R.A., the major issues of the youth are: (1) Higher wages to correspond with rising prices; (2) against all discriminatory clauses in the industrial codes; (3) Against the terrific speed-up; (4) For the right to join any union; (5) Against throwing youth out of jobs through use of seniority clauses; (6) Against child exploitation.

The League must fight against the attempt to oust youth from industry by means of seniority clauses in agreements (auto settlement). While fighting against firing of youth, we must also fight the attempt to oust adult workers prematurely from industry without unemployment insurance or old age pension at regular wages. We must unite the youth and adult workers for one common struggle for jobs or insurance, for a shorter work week without reduction in pay and for vocational training at full wages for youth under 18.

The Y.C.L. must take the leadership in developing a united front struggle against exploitation of children, especially in textile, agriculture, domestic work and street trades. Here we must expose the position of Roosevelt, the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. leaders, who offer no provisions for the maintenance of those children thrown out of industry. We must develop struggles of the child workers for their partial economic demands (higher wages, shorter hours, etc.). At the same time we must demand that child exploitation be abolished on the basis of providing for the children disemployed. This means in the first place an intensified struggle for H. R. 7598 (the workers social insurance bill) which makes provisions for the children of unemployed or part time workers. We must also place before the masses our demand: "Vocational training for all youth between 14 and 18 years of age with full pay under workers' control. State support at no less than \$3 per week for all child laborers under 14 now employed."

The League must become a greater force in winning youth for the revolutionary trade unions especially marine, steel and packing. It must become the main driving force in building unions in youth industries such as radio, telegraph, etc. Youth sections must be established in the shortest possible time in the revolutionary unions (especially steel, marine).

The convention emphasizes to the whole League that without work in the A. F. of L. it is impossible to win the working youth for revolutionary class struggle. In these unions, especially in mining and textile, we must help to create rank and file opposition and to expose the betraying policies of the reactionary leadership on the basis of concrete issues of struggle. In these unions we must wage a fight for lower initiations for young workers, the right of youth to join all unions, the right of youth to hold office and for the election of youth committees and the creation of youth sections.

A task of tremendous importance especially in the basic industries (steel, auto) is to expose and smash the company unions and their influence among the youth. At this moment it is especially necessary to utilize the fact that the company unions (steel, auto) prohibit youth under 21 from voting and those who have been less than a certain number of years in the plant from holding office, to further expose the character of these "unions". We must at the same time work within the company sport teams and clubs to win the youth for smashing the company union and must also create teams and clubs under rank and file control to counteract the activity of the company unions.

In the independent unions our Y.C.L. comrades must fight for the adoption of a class struggle policy, for the election of rank and file militant workers to office, against affiliation with the A. F. of L., and for close cooperation and solidarity with the unions of the Trade Union Unity League. We must have the perspective of working forward to the creation of one independent trade union center based on class struggle policies.

(d) Against Forced Labor—For Unemployment Insurance and Immediate Relief

While the Y.C.L. alone of all organizations has brought a program to and led the struggles of the youth in the Citizens Conservation Camps, most districts still seriously neglect work in these camps, resist sending forces into them and underestimate the role of these camps, not alone in creating a reserve for war, but as means of creating a force against the growing struggles of the workers at home. The creation of the "Forest Legion" by the government is a step in the direction of turning these boys into fascist storm troops.

The League must develop a mass struggle against the whole forced labor system, demanding the substitution of these camps with jobs at regular wages or unemployment insurance. At the same time the League must, on the basis of the united front from below, create elected men's committees and organizations of these boys around their specific grievances and for regular rates of wages and the immediate ousting of all army officers. The best Y.C.L. mass workers must be sent into these camps to build the mass movement and through it Y.C.L. camp units. The number of camp papers issued by the Y.C.L. must be increased to include all important camp areas.

The convention expresses its dissatisfaction with the state of our work among the young unemployed, who constitute a large bulk of the working class youth. With the exception of a few cities (Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Baltimore) the unemployed youth movement has not grown in the past months—

it has even declined (Chicago, Detroit). This despite the fact that the position of the unemployed youth is worse than ever. This makes necessary that we:

(1) Connect up the work in the shops with the struggle for unemployment insurance; (2) Combat the still existing illusions that Roosevelt will provide jobs for all; (3) Intensify the struggle for immediate relief on the basis of demanding constantly higher cash amounts for all youth, Negro and white; (4) Consolidate the movement organizationally through the creation of youth committees and clubs which not alone take up the demands of the young workers, but also provide certain sport and cultural activity; (5) Work in the A. F. of L., independent unions, Y.M.C.A.'s, settlement houses, youth clubs, etc., to get endorsement for Bill H. R. 7598 and to set up unemployed committees to fight for immediate relief.

(e) Every League Member Must Be a Fighter for the Rights of the Negro People

The Convention declares that any underestimation or neglect of the struggle for the rights of the Negro people objectively gives aid to the white chauvinists. The League must lead the fight for full political and social equality for the Negro youth and against every act of discrimination or segregation. This can only be done by first of all intensifying the struggle against the remnants of white chauvinism in the ranks of the Y.C.L. and by counteracting the influence of Negro nationalism.

The League must help build up the broadest movement of Negro and white youth for Negro liberation through the building of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and Young Liberator clubs as youth sections. The white youth must be in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights, militantly defending Negro youth from attacks of white chauvinists, and leading in the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon.

The League must strengthen the work in the South by building the youth sections of the Sharecroppers Union and working to penetrate the basic industries, especially in Alabama. In all of our shop and trade union work, special demands must be raised for Negro youth and they must be drawn into the trade unions on the basis of full equality. Negro young workers must be more boldly recruited and drawn into the leadership of the Y.C.L. and the mass organizations. The League must conduct much more educational activity to clarify the white and Negro youth on our revolutionary position on the Negro question and especially on the slogan of the right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt of the South.

(f) Young Worker—Weapon Against and Fascism and for Daily Needs of the Youth

The intensive struggle of the enemy for the masses of youth, necessitates more than ever before the building of the YOUNG WORKER into a mass paper, the mass organizer, agitator and propagandist of the Y.C.L. among the youth. In spite of improvements in the content of the YOUNG WORKER, the National Convention emphasizes that up to now there has been an impermissible neglect of this vital organ by the whole League and especially the concentration districts (Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York).

The Convention instructs the National Committee and every member of the League to help change the content of the Young WORKER along the lines of increasing the shop correspondence, and simplifying the language and approach of the paper to the problems of the working youth. The YOUNG WORKER must become a paper with a weekly circulation of 35,000 by the end of 1934.

(g) Win the Youth in the "Y's" and Settlement Houses for Revolutionary Class Struggle

The work started in a few cities in the Y's and Settlement Houses (New York, Cleveland), show us the tremendous possibilities in making these organizations our strongholds. In the Y's we must fight against the use of buildings to house scabs (Buffalo, New York City), against appointed directors and leaders, for elected Y councils, for the right of the membership to formulate their own program, for endorsement of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, for lower rates and exemption from dues payments for unemployed youth, and against segregation and discrimination of Negro youth.

In the Settlement Houses our main task is to enter the various clubs and on the basis of making friends, raising immediate issues such as relief, participating in discussions, win the youth for our program. Through the various clubs we are to endeavor to get represented on the councils of clubs and win the bulk of clubs for our program. Here, too, we are to fight against discrimination of Negro youth, for the right to elect house officers, etc.

In both the Settlement Houses and Y's our main concentration must be upon the factory youth and for this reason comrades must especially be sent into the Industrial Y's and the Settlement Houses in industrial areas. In these mass organizations we are to set up functioning Y.C.L. units whose main task it is to win the majority of the youth in their organization for revolutionary class struggle.

In the newly formed fascist organizations, such as the Silver Shirts, the League must send some of its most tried comrades.

These must expose the demagogic promises of the leaders around the daily issues of the youth in the fight for higher wages, for relief, etc., with the aim of disintegrating these organizations. At all times we must separate the leaders from their followers with the aim of exposing the former and winning the latter.

(h) Broaden the United Front Against War and Fascism

The Convention greets the steps taken by the National Committee to help build a broad united front youth movement against war and fascism. The Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism has grown considerably and involved many new masses of youth (Y's, Settlement Houses, church groups, student organizations). It, however, must be built now to a greater extent in the war industries and ports, as has already been begun in Baltimore, where five ship anti-war committees have been established. Committees against war must be set up in every important shop and mass organization. The whole movement must pay major attention to struggle against the production and shipment of ammunition. More attention must be given toward winning larger sections of the Young People's Socialist League for the united front.

The Y.C.L. must strengthen the work of its fractions in the sports, student, and language youth movement—especially in the Labor Sports Union. The L.S.U. must be broadened into a real sport movement appealing to American young sportsmen.

The Y.C.L. must work to build the National Student League into a broad mass organization. Every Section and District Committee must apply the principles of concentration and control tasks to the organization of the N.S.L. in the schools in its local city, especially in the high and evening schools where the students are in greater numbers proletarian in origin. While intensifying the struggle against the R.O.T.C., Y.C.L.ers must also work from within the R.O.T.C. to win the students for our program. Y.C.L. student units should be formed in colleges and high schools.

The League must also give more attention to the building of the Youth Section of the International Workers' Order and the youth sections of the language mass organizations which have grown in the past year considerably and if utilized correctly can aid the League in its work of penetrating the factories.

Through the building of the united front against war and fascism the Y.C.L. must independently come to the masses of youth with its full Communist program. It must prepare the youth to resist war and when war comes to transform the imperialist war into a civil war against American imperialism and for the establishment of Soviet Power. The Y.C.L. must

also take the lead in exposing the various pacifist movements (Y's, church, etc.) and must also expose those who use "left" phrases about answering war with general strike, etc.

One of the most important tasks of the Young Communist League is the struggle against capitalist militarism. The League must fight to abolish the R.O.T.C. and National Guard and must conduct work in the Army, Navy, National Guard, etc. Our aim must be to win the bulk of these youth against war and fascism and for support of the struggles of the working class. Of special importance at this time is the work in the National Guard, which is more and more being used against strikers, farmers and unemployed masses.

(i) Work Among Farm Youth

The work started among the farm youth and the successful farm youth conferences held in North and South Dakota, Wisconsin and Nebraska are the beginnings toward winning the broad masses of farm youth. In our farm work it is necessary to pay more attention to the young agricultural laborers, especially in the West. The task of the League is to draw the farm youth into the struggle of their parents against taxation, for cancellation of debts and against foreclosures and evictions. We must in addition fight against the inheritance of debts which for millions of farm youth means actual serfdom. It is necessary to show the farm youth the class divisions in their own ranks, with the aim of winning the broad masses of poor farm youth as allies of the proletariat in the struggle against the trusts, banks and rich farmers.

(j) For a Mass Children's Movement

Although our children's movement has grown considerably since our last convention, it still represents a small percentage of the children under our direct influence. The Y.C.L. convention instructs the entire League, each unit, section and district, to:

(1) Strengthen the leadership of the children's movement by assigning more capable forces, especially young workers and Negro youth. (2) Together with the Party and mass organizations develop a mass struggle against child misery and child exploitation. The center of all our work must be the schools. (3) Children's groups must be established with the help of the Y.C.L. alongside of all adult and youth mass organizations and alongside all Y.C.L. units. (4) Much more attention must be given to building a children's movement along side the trade unions and to counteract the activities of the Scouts among the children, winning these children for our leadership. (5) The New Pioneer must be built into a mass organ of workers' children with a circulation larger than any other revolutionary magazine.

VI. Reconstruct Work of League—Improve Its Fighting Fitness

Through all of the above tasks it is necessary to radically improve the recruiting and organizational consolidation and growth of the Y.C.L. The League must concentrate to recruit from the most important shops and from the native American and Negro youth. Its first task in this connection is to build a Y.C.L. shop unit wherever there is a Party unit. At the same time it must intensify its recruiting among all strata of toiling and student youth, in order to in the fastest possible time catch-up and surpass the Party in size.

To accomplish this it is necessary to first solve the tremendous turnover in the ranks of the League. This turnover is due to a lack of mass activity and political life in the units, the routine and technical character of the work, the lack of personal attention to new members, and the failure to draw new members into responsible work. All of these flow from the bureaucratic methods of work of the leadership which stifle the initiative of the lower bodies and individual members and make impossible the development of real inner-democracy and Bolshevik self-criticism.

The Convention calls upon the Y.C.Lers to expose the examples of bureaucracy which stifle the initiative of the membership. They must check-up and control the work of their leadership in carrying through the decisions of this Convention. They must also bear in mind when electing new functionaries that young workers from basic industries, young girl shop workers, Negro youth, and above all mass workers, must be placed in leading posts. Those who in practice prove their failure to carry out the line of our League must be removed.

A greater stability must be established among the cadres of the League. More care must be taken in the selection of people. Responsibilities are to be assigned on the basis of the qualifications and abilities of each person. Through more attention to this problem the shifting of forces must be reduced to a minimum and elections in the League carried through at regular intervals (elections of units bureaus, etc.). All leading committees must place greater attention on the solution of the problems of mass work of the units. The leading cadres of the League must work directly with the lower organizations, showing leadership through example by helping solve the problems of the units.

The Convention places before the National Committee the immediate task of developing systematic Marxist-Leninist education in the ranks of the League. Every Y.C.Ler must study the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and bring them to the widest masses of youth. Schools must especially

be established for shop workers and new members and the political level of the entire League raised.

The seriousness of the present world situation, the closeness of imperialist war, means that we must rapidly improve the fighting fitness of our League, do away with all forms of looseness and carelessness, safe-guard our members and organization from the activities of spies and create firm working class discipline on the basis of understanding. The entire League must be prepared for sudden changes and must learn to react to the daily issues, must learn to work independently of its center. This means that more political responsibility must be placed on the units and sections.

VIII. For a Revolutionary Workers' Government

All of the work of the League must be guided by the perspective of winning the majority of the working class for the overthrow of American capitalism and the establishment of Soviet Power. The masses of youth must be taught on the basis of their own experiences that there is no way out of the crisis for them except by smashing the dictatorship of the capitalist class and in its stead establishing the dictatorship of the working class in alliance with the toiling farmers and Negro people—a revolutionary working government—Soviet Power. Such a government will establish real democracy for the overwhelming majority of the toilers and a stern dictatorship against the capitalists and their agents. It will take over the banks, factories, railroads, mines and the farms of the big corporations—in the interests of the toilers.

Soviet Power in the United States will mean for the young workers, students and young farmers the greatest opportunity for future development. Gone will be the scourge of unemployment. By opening the warehouses and turning over the tremendous stocks of stored up goods to the workers; by immediately establishing a six hour day for young workers; by lowering the hours of work of the entire working class; by tremendously raising the wages and consuming power of the workers—Soviet Power will mean jobs for all and the abolition of unemployment for all times. It will further mean the opening of new institutions of learning for the masses of youth at the expense of the government. It will mean the establishment of vocational training for youth under 18 years of age at full wages. It will mean complete equality for the millions of Negro youth and the liberation of the Negro nation. It will mean the establishment of living and cultural standards undreamed of under capitalism.

Capitalism means hunger, fascism and war!

Soviet Power will mean peace, plenty and the greatest democracy and opportunity for the sons and daughters of the working masses!

RESOLUTION ON CHILDREN'S WORK

A major task before our whole League is the development of Communist work among the masses of children. The struggle for their demands and for their Communist education has become more and more an inseparable part of the task of realizing our strategical slogan—to "conquer the majority of working class". (Y.C.L. Resolution, December Plenum.)

During the three years since our last Convention, the conditions of the children have become miserable. The children have been the worst sufferers during these years of crisis and misery. The National Recovery Act has been one of the chief instruments of the ruling class in its attack against the living conditions of the children.

(A) The N.R.A. was hailed far and wide for having "abolished child labor." But it is precisely under the N.R.A. that the exploitation of children had been increased. The economic basis for child labor was not wiped out under the Blue Eagle; it was made worse. For this reason the exploitation of children in agriculture, street trades, home and domestic work has increased. Conservative estimates show that at least one out of every ten children below 16 years of age is employed. This is further shown by the fact that child laborers have participated in increasing numbers in the recent strike waves (California, New Jersey, New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia).

(B) The total number of children suffering from various degrees of undernourishment is higher under the N.R.A. than at any time in the history of the country. Over 5,000,000 or more than one out of every five children is suffering from acute undernourishment. Disease and deaths have increased sharply among the children. Child suicides have increased as a direct result of the deep misery. Thousands of children have been forced out on the road without any home; or into overcrowded orphan homes.

(C) Under the New Deal there has been an unprecedented decline in school facilities. Over two and a quarter million children of school age are not in school. Over 2,500 schools have been shut down completely, especially in the farm and Negro regions. School programs have been sharply curtailed. Overcrowding exists in every school. Teachers are not paid. There are no textbooks or material; no medical or dental attention; and no extra-curricular or regular courses outside of the three R's in an increasing number of schools. In brief, large sections of children face the prospect under the New Deal of either complete or semi-illiteracy.

(D) The Negro children have been the worst sufferers from this attack. They have been denied even the little relief that is given out. School facilities have been curtailed most sharply

in the Negro sections (South, Harlem, Chicago, etc.). The increase in tuberculosis, disease and deaths is greatest among the Negro children.

(F) The N.R.A. has further served as the instrument for winning new support among the children for the Roosevelt program of war and fascism. The Scout movement supported the appeals of Roosevelt and Johnson to help put over the N.R.A. All forms of fascist and semi-fascist organizations have been begun among the children to support the N.R.A. program of "preparedness" (9X secret service, Junior Birdmen of America, etc.). The community centers and settlement houses have increased their membership, although their incomes have declines. Direct war propaganda has been intensified in the schools, radio, press, movies, etc. Military training has been spread into the public and junior high schools. New steps to fascize the education of the children through the creation of junior police, new monitor systems, etc., are being rapidly developed in the schools.

The N.R.A. has brought further misery to the children of this country; while under the rule of the workers and farmers, children already live healthy, vigorous lives. The second Five-Year plan in the Soviet Union has already provided for the education of 26,000,000 children. From 1927 to 1932 alone the number of children in primary schools doubled, the number in seven year schools tripled and the number in factory and trade schools increased eleven times. Child exploitation has been completely abolished. These bear witness to the sharp contrast in the lives of children under capitalism and those under Soviet rule.

Child Struggles Increase

In the face of these developments, large sections of children are becoming more and more active in the struggle for better conditions. Spontaneous actions of children have taken place during this period with increasing sharpness (Pennsylvania, Utah, Tampa, etc.). Spontaneous strikes of child laborers have also taken place during this time. Hundreds of demonstrations and actions of workers, farmers and children have taken place all over the country for children's demands. On the basis of this, the demands of the children have become more and more an integral part of the general program of the struggling workers and farmers. The Pioneer movement has increased its activities among the children. It has led a number of actions of children in the schools for better conditions. These actions varied from petitions and meetings in and around the school, to the school strikes and the march to Washington (1932.) In New York and Chicago strikes of children were called on the basis of their immediate partial demands. In Philadelphia, a strike was called in defense of the Scottsboro

boys. The Pioneer movement has mobilized an increasing number of children for the growing class struggle, and around the general campaigns of the revolutionary movement.

As a result of the increased struggles of the children together with the whole working class, many demands have been won in the schools. The ruling class has been forced, in most of the large cities, to grant the demands for free food, shoes and clothing. This is due in no small measure to the increased activity of the Pioneer movement among the children.

On the basis of this activity, the Pioneer movement has more than tripled in membership since our last convention (4,000 to 12,600). The composition of the movement has been improved. It has begun serious work to win the mass organizations for children's work, laying the basis for a mass federation of workers' and farmers' children's organizations. An excellent magazine for children has been created with an average circulation of more than 14,000. The leadership in children's work has been strengthened and a leaders' publication issued regularly.

Small beginnings have been made in the South (Birmingham) as well as among the Negro children (Chicago). The methods of work of the leadership have been changed considerably since our last convention. The life and activities of the lower units among the children have been strengthened. Some steps have been taken to develop a systematic class education of the children. Some small beginnings have been made in the work among the Scouts (New York).

These small beginnings have taken place since our last Convention as a direct result of increased attention to this problem on the part of the whole revolutionary movement. With the direct aid and assistance of the Central Committee of our Party, the program and role of the Pioneer movement has been clarified. Through the Party fractions, a few mass organizations have been convinced to seriously begin the work among children (I.W.O., I.L.D., etc.); and a number of adult forces have been assigned directly to children's work. These developments have also been a direct outgrowth of serious efforts on the part of the leadership to break down the sectarian methods of work characterized at our last Convention (leadership divorced from districts, conception of Pioneer movement as one composed of Communist children, etc.)

However, in the main, the characterization of the work given at the last Convention of our League still applies with full force.

(A) The purpose and role of the Pioneer movement has not been established clearly before the whole revolutionary movement. The tendency to divorce the children from the daily class struggle, to develop only inner forms and methods, to imitate Scout tests and examinations, can still be found. This is coupled with another tendency to force on the children exact

forms used by adults; to make the Pioneer movement a Communist Party for children. The inner life of the troops and lower units are in the main still drab and uninteresting. (B) Although there have been serious attempt in many places to develop systematic work in the schools, the problem of school work is not yet in the center of the work of the whole children's movement. There exists yet in many sections of the movement, a deep tendency to phrase-monger on this question. (C) The problem of a struggle against child exploitation is still underestimated. There has been no serious work among child laborers since the last convention. (D) Although there are small beginnings, the work among the Negro children has not kept pace with the general development of the Pioneer movement (about 600 children nationally). The lack of consistent attention to this problem is also shown in the failure to develop Negro cadres for the work. (E) There is a tendency to put the work in other mass organizations as against the work in the trade unions and unemployment movements. (F) The work in the opponent controlled organizations is haphazard and not connected with the daily work and activities in the school and neighborhood. (G) Systematic graduation from the Pioneer movement to the youth movement and Y.C.L. has been seriously neglected. Because of this there still exists a very poor relationship between the Pioneers and the youth movement. There is as yet little understanding or appreciation of the role and importance of the Y.C.L. among the children. There has been very little attention given to the systematic development of the youth forces in children's work.

These weaknesses still remain in the work of the Pioneer movement to a great extent because of a lack of day to day guidance and leadership from the Y.C.L. as a whole. In some districts (Seattle, California, Minneapolis) there does not yet exist an apparatus for the work on a district scale. The total number of League forces in children's work in some districts is even less than at the time of our last Convention (New York, 24 comrades, etc.). There has been, also, a tendency in some sections of the League to swing away from responsibility for children's work. This is a result mainly of a wrong conception that the resolution of the Central Committee of our Party had lessened the responsibility of the Y.C.L. for this work.

This situation is due basically to a widespread underestimation of children's work throughout the League and youth movement. The League as a whole is not convinced that the work among children is a major task; that such work can be a valuable aid in the penetration of the concentration factories, neighborhoods and opponent organizations. This reflects itself in the leadership assigned from the League, which is in the main of poor composition.

Tasks of Y.C.L. in Building Mass Children's Movement

In the light of this situation, the 7th National Convention of the Y.C.L. calls upon the whole Y.C.L. and youth movement to make a serious turn in the work among children; to build the Pioneer movement to a mass movement larger than the Y.C.L. or Party. This means, in the first place, to liquidate every expression of underestimation of this problem; to recognize that "the Y.C.L. provides the leading cadres for the Pioneer movement; and ensures that the necessary help and support on the part of the adult workers is forthcoming." (Program of the Y.C.L.) The work among children must receive recognition throughout our Y.C.L. as work of the highest importance. On this basis the leadership in children's work must be strengthened by the addition of young workers and particularly Negro youth. Every district and section committee, every unit must assign one of its best members for this work. It must carry on a strict day to day check-up on the work of the whole children's movement under its jurisdiction in the light of the decisions of this convention. The fractions in all mass organizations must take up seriously the question of sponsoring a children's movement of their organization.

The Y.C.L. must win the adult organizations through the Party for the work among children. Further support must be secured through the addition of adult forces for the work. The assignment of adult forces in no way lessens the responsibility of the Y.C.L. to provide the direct leadership for children's work. All adult forces in the work are under the direct leadership of the League in addition to the general leadership of the Party.

On the basis of strengthening the leadership, the Convention proposes the following tasks for the entire League and youth movement together with the Pioneer movement. (A) The Convention definitely establishes that the work in and around the schools is the major task of the Y.C.L. in children's work. Without an organized base in the schools the Pioneer movement cannot be more than a sectarian organization. On this basis, the Y.C.L. together with each Pioneer troop or group must concentrate on one school in the neighborhood of the factory concentration. Through the struggle for the demands of the children, the Y.C.L. can penetrate the concentration points. Within the shortest time possible, the Y.C.L. together with the Party, must create wide united fronts of parents, teachers and children on the issues in the school. Parents Councils and oppositions in the reactionary Parent-Teacher Associations must be set up. In this way the adults and youth must give the necessary leadership in the struggle for the demands of the children. The struggle in and around the schools must take place particularly on the issues of free

food and clothing, free medical and dental care, against curtailment of school facilities, against fire-trap and overcrowded schools, against all jingoistic and fascist teachings, against military training, against discrimination towards Negro and colonial children, and for the right of children to establish self-government in the schools.

Every Pioneer and child under our influence must be ac-
tivated in the school and classroom and in the various phases
of school life. On the basis of activity, the Pioneer movement
must become the leader among the children on the issues in
the schools. Through work on the inside and outside we should
try to create united fronts of the children in the school. These
can take the form of clubs, teams, committees, delegated bodies,
etc. School newspapers should be issued regularly; and meet-
ings of the children held on the various school issues.

On the basis of the issues of the children in and out of
school, the Y.C.L. together with the Pioneer movement must
work systematically to win over the children in the opponent
controlled organizations, settlement houses, etc. Where possi-
ble Y.C.L. forces should be sent in as volunteer leaders in these
organizations to carry on the work there.

(B) The Convention demands an immediate change in the
attitude of the Y.C.L. and Pioneer movement to the work
among child laborers. The Y.C.L. and the Party must begin
a mass campaign against the exploitation of the children and
for the maintenance of such children by the state and employ-
ers. Together with the unions, wide united front committees
must be set up to publicize and develop actions against child
exploitation. Steps must be taken together with the Pioneer
movement to organize the child laborers on their partial de-
mands. Great flexibility in the organizational forms for this
work is necessary. Various types of clubs can be formed among
the children. In all strikes which involve children, the specific
problem of child labor must be exposed. Through the fractions,
discussion and actions of the unions must take place on this
problem. This is especially important for the textile, agricul-
tural and food unions.

Must Be Built on Federated Basis

(C) Steps must be taken immediately to build up children's
movements around the trade unions nationally and locally.
Similar activity must be developed around the unemployed
movements. The small beginnings in the work in either mass
organizations must be strengthened. On the basis of the mass
organizations the Pioneer movement must be organized as a
mass federation of various children's organizations sponsored
by adult and youth organizations. The connection between
the troops and parent organizations must be strengthened. Spe-
cial attention must be given to the children's work around

the branches and affiliates of the League of Struggle for Negro
Rights.

(D) The New Pioneer magazine must be given full sup-
port by the youth movement. The magazine is an important
instrument for the organization and education of thousands
of unorganized children. The League must give the leader-
ship in the circulation of the magazine in the schools and oppo-
nent controlled organizations. On this basis the Convention
proposes to the whole League that the circulation of the New
Pioneer magazine shall within one year exceed that of any
other publication of the revolutionary movement.

(E) The Convention definitely establishes that the Pioneer
movement as well as every one of its units, must become "the
instruments and centers of proletarian class education for their
members. It will a part of this education, as well as an
object of it, to involve these children more and more into the
struggle of the parent organizations and workers". (Central
Com. Resolution on Children's Work.—C.P.U.S.A.) The work
in the troops must be reorganized further on the basis of the
interests and needs of the children.

An end must be put to the method of displacing the children
in the daily work. The maximum self-activity must be devel-
oped among the children. Squads must be built in the troops
on the basis of age and development of the children; and
these must become the daily unit of activity. Various circles
of airplane modelling, arts and crafts, etc. must be organized
around the troops and sufficient leadership provided for these
activities. The children between the ages of 14-16 must be
organized into special clubs, such as Pioneer Seniors, etc.; and
special provisions made for their leadership. Graduations of
the children into youth organizations and the Y.C.L. must take
place regularly on revolutionary youth holidays (Lenin, Lieb-
knecht, Luxemburg campaigns, I.Y.D., etc.). Through the prac-
tical work of the children in the schools and neighborhoods, we
must work for their systematic Communist education.

Increased Attention to Negro Children

(F) The work among Negro children, the fight for their
special demands must be given increased attention. As an
integral part of this task, it is necessary to immediately develop
a definite corps of Negro comrades in the leadership of the
children's movement. At the same time, a sharp struggle
must be waged against all manifestations of white chauvinism
and petty bourgeois nationalism in the leadership of the move-
ment. The development of proletarian internationalism among
the children must become a major phase of their class educa-
tion.

(G) The level of the leadership, its political understanding,
etc., must be raised through systematic schooling, classes and

material. Regular meetings of the leaders must be established in every district and section. For this purpose, also, the Worker's Child must be given wide circulation among the leaders and Y.C.L. members.

(II) The Convention also proposes that steps be taken to develop immediately a wide publication of leaders' and children's literature. Stories, games, songs, etc. must be printed in pamphlet form and within the shortest time possible; a handbook of children's work published immediately. It also recommends establishing regular children's corners in all the trade union and working class press.

(I) The Convention further proposes that the entire Y.C.L. and youth movement make International Children's Week (1st week in October) a major campaign of the League against child misery and exploitation; the role and importance of the Pioneer movement to be popularized and explained, as well as the international character of the movement. The Youth press shall make this a major campaign.

On the basis of closer attention and leadership of the Y.C.L. to children's work the Convention proposes that within one year's time the Pioneer movement shall embrace at least 25,000 organized children.

Through such work, the Convention is fully confident of the Pioneer movement within a short time taking its place in the revolutionary movement as the leader and teacher of the third generation in the struggle for a Soviet America.

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